

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 1644

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: UR, US, XO  
SUBJECT: INDIAN OCEAN ARMS CONTROL TALKS

1. EMBOFF DISCUSSED INDIAN OCEAN MATTERS WITH MFA FIRST SECRETARY GOROVY FEB. 1 CONCENTRATING PRIMARILY ON A RECENT PRAVDA ARTICLE BY S. VLADIMIROV WHICH APPEARED JAN. 18, AND A LONGER, MORE ACADEMIC (AND LESS RELEVANT) PIECE IN THE JANUARY ISSUE OF THE USA JOURNAL. THE PRAVDA ARTICLE GAVE A STANDARD TREATMENT OF THE ISSUES AND APPEARED TO BE A SUMMATION IN PREPARATION FOR THE START OF THE NEW ROUND FEB. 7 IN BERN. IT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY SOMEONE VERY KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT THE ISSUES. THIS FACT WAS CONFIRMED BY GOROVY WHO, WITHOUT PROMPTING, OBLIQUELY INDICATED HE REALIZED S. VLADIMIROV WAS A PSEUDONYM. HE DISCLAIMED AUTHORSHIP AND SAID HE HAD NO IDEA IF ANYONE ON THE DELEGATION WROTE THE ARTICLE.

2. GOROVY STRESSED THAT THE INTENTION OF THE PRAVDA PIECE AND OF PONOMAREV'S REMARKS BEFORE THE U.S. CONGRESS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN WERE DELIBERATELY CAST INOPTIMISTIC TERMS AND THAT THESE CORRESPONDED TO THE ATTITUDE OF "OUR DELEGATION" WHERE OPTIMISM FOR A QUICK SETTLEMENT IS STRONG. GOROVY SAID THAT THE DELEGATION MEMBERS HAVE VARYING OPINIONS ABOUT THE AMOUNT OF PROGRESS WHICH CAN BE MADE IN THE COMING ROUND. SOME FEW CONSIDER THAT ONLY AGREED ISSUES CAN BE RECONFIRMED BY AGREE-  
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MENT ON DRAFT LANGUAGE. OTHERS, MORE HOPEFUL, THINK THAT AGREEMENT ON OTHER DISPUTED POINTS CAN BE REACHED WITH THE MOST CONTENTIOUS ISSUES LEFT IN BRACKETS. FINALLY, SOME, CLEARLY A MINORITY AS GOROVY RELATED IT, THINK THAT A COMMON DRAFT TEXT CAN BE PRACTICALLY COMPLETED IN THE CURRENT ROUND. GOROVY BELIEVED THAT THE SECOND GROUP WAS MORE REALISTIC AND IMPLIED

THAT MOST MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION WERE INCLUDED IN THIS BUNCH.

3. THE PRAVDA ARTICLE CONTAINS, INTER ALIA, A RECONFIRMATION THAT THE "RADICAL SOLUTION" WHICH THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSES FOR INDIAN OCEAN ARMS CONTROL DOES NOT ENVISAGE COMPLETE DEMILITARIZATION OF THE AREA. ABOLITION OF ALL BASES AND "REDUCTIONS OF FORCE LEVELS" CONSTITUTE THE SOVIET RADICAL SOLUTION. GOROVY AGREED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS NOT INTERESTED IN COMPLETE DEMILITARIZATION BECAUSE THIS WAS "IN PRACTICE, AN IMPOSSIBILITY". HE CLAIMED THAT NONE OF THE LITTORAL STATES DISAGREED WITH THE SOVIET CONTENTION THAT REDUCTIONS IN NON-LITTORAL MILITARY PRESENCE WOULD IMPLY AT LEAST THE RIGHT OF FREE PASSAGE AND TRANSIT FOR MILITARY SHIPS REGARDLESS OF RESTRICTIONS ON "DEPLOYMENTS" IN THE OCEAN. GOROVY SAID THAT SUCH WAS THE POSITION PUT FORWARD BY MENDELEVICH IN HIS RECENT CONSULTATIONS WITH LITTORAL STATES AND THAT NOTHING MENDELEVICH HEARD CONTRADICTED THE SOVIET POSITION.

4. THE PRAVDA ARTICLE CLAIMED THAT SOME OF THE LITTORAL STATES WHICH EXPRESS SUSPICION OF THE BILATERAL TALKS WERE SERVING CHINESE INTERESTS (ALTHOUGH THE PRC IS NOT MENTIONED BY NAME IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PIECE). GOROVY FEIGNED IGNORANCE OF WHICH STATES MIGHT BE THE OBJECT OF THIS REFERENCE, AND INSTEAD REPLIED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE SATISFIED THAT THE LITTORAL STATES WERE SUPPORTIVE OF U.S.-SOVIET EFFORTS. HE VOLUNTEERED THAT MENDELEVICH'S CONSULTATIONS WITH THE LITTORALS HAD ALL BEEN "VERY SATISFACTORY" AND THAT NONE OF THE STATES HE VISITED EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT THE DIRECTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

5. BY CONTRASTING THE "U.S. DESIRE" FOR A STAGED APPROACH WITH THE SOVIET INSISTENCE ON A "RADICAL SOLUTION", THE PRAVDA ARTICLE TENDED TO LEAVE THE READER WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIETS WERE LESS THAN PLEASED BY THE STABILIZATION/REDUCTIONS APPROACH. GOROVY DENIED THAT THIS WAS THE INTENT OF THE AUTHOR (A FURTHER INDICATION THAT THE DELEGATION PLAYED A ROLE IN THE AUTHORSHIP) AND INSISTED THAT THIS WAS MERELY AN ATTEMPT TO DESIGNATE FOR THE RECORD THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE COMPROMISED BY AGREEING TO THE U.S. APPROACH. GOROVY INSISTED THAT THE SOVIETS, HAVING AGREED, WOULD WORK TO IMPLEMENT A FIRST STAGE AGREEMENT FOR STABILIZATION AND ARE

PREPARED TO MOVE IMMEDIATELY TO SUBSTANTIAL  
REDUCTIONS.  
MATLOCK

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## Message Attributes

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